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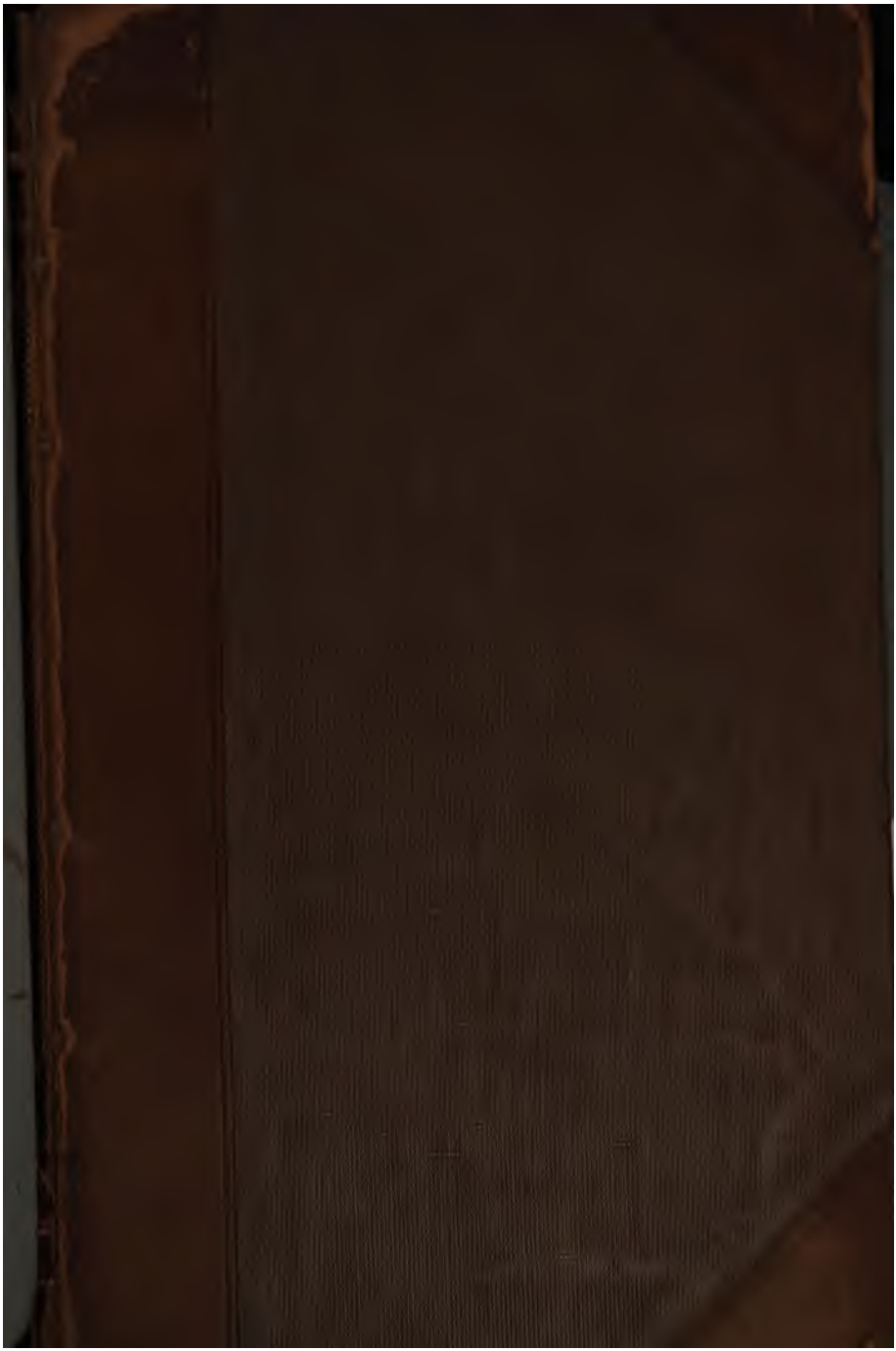

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Probably printed for
distribution amongst
Col. Campbell's friends
& by Lt. Speirs — see
Note in MS. at end
I prepare

MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF THE LATE

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN CAMPBELL,

MAJOR, 2D BATT. 42D REGIMENT, OR ROYAL HIGHLANDERS.

BY A RETIRED OFFICER,

Who served under him on the Malabar Coast; in the Canara Country, in the years 1782, 3, & 4; and who was present with his Corps,

AT THE ASSAULT OF THE FORT OF ANNANTPORE,

AND ALSO WITH IT IN

THE FORT OF MANGALORE,

WHEN BESIEGED BY TIPPOO SULTAN IN PERSON.

EDINBURGH:—1836.

210. m. 820.

DEDICATION.

To his Family and Friends, and to those of his Brother Officers still alive, who were present at the arduous Siege of Mangalore, the following attempt to delineate the Life and Character of their inestimable and lamented Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel JOHN CAMPBELL, is respectfully dedicated.

Edinburgh, February, 1835.

PREFACE.

As I am now, I believe, one of the few officers alive (perhaps the only one) who served under the immediate command of Colonel Campbell on the coast of Malabar, and in the Canara country, both previous to and during the siege and blockade of Mangalore, it lately occurred to me, that while many of the various circumstances and transactions were still fresh in my memory, and while my mind was entire, that I owed it as a duty of respect and regard due to the memory of my Patron and Friend, to attempt a Sketch of his Life and Character, and to request its insertion in the work then publishing by Mr. Robert Chambers, entitled, the "Lives of Eminent and Distinguished Scotchmen."

When I came to this determination, the work in question, which is alphabetical, had already proceeded beyond the letter C; but on my making my wishes on this subject known to Mr. Chambers, he very politely and kindly promised me a place for my Memoir in a Supplement, which he was aware would be required, to enable him to complete his book. He

did so accordingly; but he found himself obliged so t
contract and abridge my sketch, that it disappointe
me on many points, some of which I considered a
most essential to the objects which I had in view i
preparing it; one of which, in particular, of great mo
ment, was to produce evidence and testimony, posi
tive, clear, and incontrovertible, that the severe com
ments and strictures which had appeared in variou
publications, and in sundry periodicals of that perio
reflecting on the humanity and character of the offi
cers and troops employed at the siege and assault o
the Fort of Annantpore, in the Canara country, o
which occasion Colonel Campbell commanded, wer
false and calumnious, and perfectly destitute of truth
Upon this subject I entered at some length; but m
vindication of my fellow-soldiers has been omitted i
what Mr. Chambers has published of my Memoir.

In the present imperfect sketch, I have not confine
myself to the Colonel's Life, but have ventured occa
sionally to digress, and to introduce collateral an
other circumstances, and to narrate occurrences, anec
dotes, and traits of character, perhaps not altogethe
unworthy of notice, and therefore likely to render th
Memoir more entertaining.

If elegance of style were absolutely requisite, I an
aware that I could not do justice to my subject, an
therefore would not have attempted it; but as it i
only necessary to convey, in plain language, the fact
and circumstances which I have to relate, a grea
proportion of which are consistent with my persona
observation and knowledge, while others, again, ar
founded on correct information and authentic docu-
ments, I trust that it will be admitted that I am no

altogether unqualified to fulfil the grateful task which I have imposed on myself. The documents in question I have searched for with much industry and trouble, and have carefully and diligently consulted.

On certain points regarding Colonel Campbell, with which I could not well be acquainted, I have addressed myself to those who were most likely to give me correctly the information which I was in search of, and I am most sensible of the ready and obliging manner in which my applications and requests have been attended to and complied with.

Had Mr. Chambers found it convenient, and consistent with his arrangements, to publish at full length my sketch as I sent it to him, the objects which I had in view would have been fully answered, for thereby I would have obtained for the Memoir that wide circulation which I was so anxious to secure for it; and my disappointment in this particular must account for the design which I have formed of getting it printed, should I find it convenient and advisable to carry this plan into execution.

I never had it in contemplation to publish it, from the dread of exposing myself to just, and probably severe criticism.

The books and other documents which I have consulted, and from which I have occasionally quoted, are the following:—

† Dodsley's Annual Register for the years 1782 3.

† An Account of the gallant Defence of Mangalore, by Major of Brigade Wolseley, King's Troops. London, 1786. Barthurst, Fleet Street; Edinburgh, C. Elliot.

† Fullarton's View of the British Interests in India second edition. London, Cadell, Strand, 1788.

† Moodie's Remarks on the Military Operations of the Western Side of India in 1783-4. London, 1788 Robson and Clarke, New Bond Street, and J. Sewel Cornhill.

The Military Miscellanies of the Hon. Colone Colin Lindsay.

† Orderly Book, 2d Batt. 42d Regiment.

† General Stewart of Garth's Sketches of the Character, Manners, &c. of the Highlanders, first edition Constable & Co., Edinburgh, 1822.

† Captain Campbell's Journey Overland to India London, 1808. Vernor and Hood.

Captain Le Couteur's Letters from India. London 1790. J. Murray, Fleet Street.

† Historical Sketches of the South of India, by Colonel Mark Wilks, of the Madras Establishment London, 1810 and 1817; 3 vols.

Major-General Keith Macalister's Statement regarding the peace concluded with Tippoo at Mangalore in the year 1784. Edinburgh, 1818.

† Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice. Clark, Law-bookseller. Edinburgh, 1832.

† Extracts of Documents from the India-House and War-Office.

† Correspondence on the subject of information and materials for the Memoir.

† Chambers' Journal.

† Extract from the Register of the Kirk-Session of St. Cuthbert's parish, furnished by Mr. John Adams, Session Clerk.

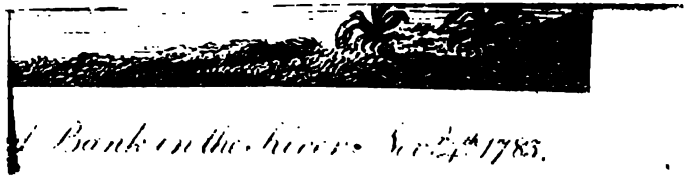
Those marked with a cross are in my possession.

I have to mention, with much regret, that there is a very particular document wanting, which might have afforded much valuable and interesting information for the Memoir. This is a journal of the siege of Mangalore, kept by the Colonel himself. After his death it was transmitted home, and was for some time in the possession of his nephew, Mr. Campbell of Stonefield, who most unfortunately lent it to a person who never returned it; and thus a paper has been lost, (which his family must have been most anxious to preserve as a precious relic) a circumstance as provoking as vexatious and irremediable.

Postcript to the Preface

Most truly sensible of the imperfections in point of Style of the Memoir, I shall request = ved not to efface my name to it, but since it has been printed, I have given up this determination in com= = pliance with the desire of those whose wishes in this respect it was becoming in me to gratify, and in defe = rence to the opinion of those whose suggestions it was pro= = per in me to attend to,

Yours sincerely
J. S. Kerr
2nd Batt. 42nd Regt.
or Royal Highlanders



Bank on the River Sept.r 1783.

MEMOIR

OF

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN CAMPBELL,

LATE OF

THE 42d, OR ROYAL HIGHLANDERS.

JOHN CAMPBELL, major in the second battalion of the 42d or Royal Highlanders, was descended from the Campbells of Stonefield, a respectable family, possessing lands in the counties of Argyle and Dumbarton; and it would appear, from a genealogical account of the house of Lochnell, that the family of Stonefield is descended from Archibald, the second Lochnell, who was killed in 1594.

The Colonel's grandfather, Archibald Campbell, was bred an advocate; and we are informed, that at his brother's death he was appointed Sheriff of Argyleshire, and that he filled the office with credit to himself, and with great benefit to the county.

He married Mrs. Captain Ogilvie, a widow, mother of Lord Banff, who was the father of the late and last Lord of that title, now extinct.

By her second marriage, this lady had a son and two daughters.

The son, John Campbell, brought up to the Scottish bar, married Lady Grace Stewart, the

sister of John Earl of Bute, (the Premier and personal friend of George the Third,) and niece of John the great Duke of Argyle.

Mr. Campbell was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates, on the 9th of January, 1748. He was for some time Sheriff of Angus. On the 16th of June, 1762, he was appointed a Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Stonefield; and, on the resignation of Lord Gardenston, in March, 1787, was nominated a Lord of Justiciary. The latter appointment he resigned in 1792; but retained the former till his death, which happened in Edinburgh, on the 19th of June 1801. He had sat on the Bench thirty-nine years.*

This gentleman survived all his sons, and was succeeded by his grandson John, the present Laird of Stonefield, who married a daughter of Sir James Colquhoun of Luss.

Lord Stonefield had by Lady Grace seven sons, of whom Colonel John Campbell was the second. The eldest, Archibald, died after having passed as advocate, and practised some years with much ability. All the sons died unmarried except Colonel Colin, who formed an union with Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart. of Balcaskie, a very old and respectable family in the county of Fife. This lady is mother of the present John Campbell, Esq. of

* "Historical account of the Senators of the College of Justice."—Clark, Law-bookseller, Edinburgh. 1832.

Stonefield, and of the deceased Major Colin Campbell, who was married and left a family.

Lord Stonefield's eldest sister married Colin Campbell, Esq. of Carquhan, father of the late Marquis of Breadalbane. The second married John Campbell, Esq. of Airds, and is mother of the present Sir John.

Colonel John Campbell was born at Levenside House, then the property of his grandfather, and still in possession of the family. It is in the parish of Dumbarton; but as Lord Stonefield's professional duties obliged him to live much in Edinburgh, there is no register in the Dumbarton books of the birth of any of his children. It appears, however, from the books of St. Cuthbert's, or West Church, Edinburgh,* that the subject of this memoir was born on the 7th of December, 1753; and baptized by the Rev. John Hyndman, who was for nearly ten years one of the ministers of that parish. The witnesses of the baptism were Lord Strichen, one of the Senators of the College of Justice; and his son, Alexander Fraser, Esq.

I have been able to learn very few particulars of the Colonel's earlier life; but have ascertained that he received part of his education at the High School of Edinburgh, and was in Mr. French's class from 1759 to 1763.

In that class there were sixty-four boys, of whom

* Extract from the Register of the Kirk-Session of St. Cuthbert's parish, furnished by Mr. John Adams, Session-clerk.

not half-a-dozen are now alive, if so many; and of Mr. Luke Fraser's class, which met in October, 1769, and consisted of 105, or perhaps 108, there remain, I believe, at present, not above nine.

Such statistical records as these should give rise to serious thoughts, and convey strong admonition.

By application to the War-Office, I have procured the dates of the Colonel's successive commissions, which are as follows:—

Ensign, 37th foot, June 25th, 1771.

Lieut. 7th or Royal Fusileers, May 9th, 1774.

Captain, 71st foot or Fraser Highlanders, Dec. 2d, 1775.

Major, 74th, Dec. 30th, 1777.

Major, 100th, by exchange, February 7, 1781.

Major, 2d Battalion, 42d regiment, Oct. 23d, 1781.

Lieut.-Col. in the army, by brevet, Feb. 19th, 1783.

At the commencement of the American war, the Colonel was a lieutenant in the 7th Foot; and I have been informed, that he was made prisoner with part of his corps, at Fort St. John's, in Canada, when that province was overrun by the American generals Montgomery and Arnold.

While Captain in the 71st, and Major of the 74th, he served in America till towards the conclusion of the unfortunate war there; a circumstance to which allusion is made in the general orders issued by Lieut.-Col. Norman Macleod,

after he had repulsed and defeated Tippoo Sahib at Paniany, on the coast of Malabar, in November, 1782. To this successful issue Colonel Campbell most essentially contributed, as will be more particularly noticed in the proper place.

On the 7th of February, 1781, the Colonel exchanged, as Major, from the 74th regiment into the 100th, raised by Lieut. Col. Commandant Francis Mackenzie Humberston, (of the Seaforth family;) this was one of the corps composing the secret expedition, under the orders of Commodore Johnston, and General, afterwards Sir William Meadows.

It is believed that the Ministry originally intended this expedition against the Spanish possessions in South America, but that they afterwards saw cause to change its destination, and to direct it against the Cape of Good Hope.

However secret the destination of this expedition was kept from the British people, the French ministry were made fully acquainted with it, by means of a spy, a M. de la Motte, who had taken up his residence in London, for the purpose of procuring private intelligence for the Cabinet of his nation. He had been Colonel in the regiment of Soubise, which had been reduced at the peace of 1763. Having corrupted and bribed one or more of the clerks in some of our public offices, he learned the force of the expedition, in ships and troops, its destination, and time of sailing; information which he conveyed to France, and which enabled the French ministry to concert and adopt

measures to defeat the object of it, as will be mentioned in the sequel.

He was however detected, tried at the Old Bailey before Judge Willes, on the 14th of July, 1781, convicted of high treason, (principally on the testimony of a German accomplice, named Lutterloh,) and executed for the same.*

Some of the troops were prematurely embarked in transports about the 20th of January, 1781; although the expedition did not sail from the Motherbank till the 13th of March, in company with the grand fleet under Admiral Darby, going to the relief of Gibraltar.

The squadron consisted of the Hero, 74; Monmouth, 64; Romney, (the flag-ship,) Jupiter and Isis, 50 each, three frigates, some sloops of war, a cutter, a bomb-ketch, and a fire-ship. There were also two ordinance store-ships, (crazy leaky vessels,) and a victualler or two; a number of East Indiamen, (then not coppered,) in which troops were embarked; several armed coppered transports commanded by Lieutenants of the Navy; and some common transports not coppered, on board of which the second battalion 42d regiment was embarked, and which sailed so ill as often to retard the rest of the fleet, which amounted to rather more than forty sail.

The land force was composed of four additional companies, one from each of the following regi-

* Dodsley's Annual Register for the year 1781. Appendix to Chronicle, p. 239. See also the Chronicle, p. 184.

ments, namely, the 8th, 9th, 20th, and 47th;—of the second battalion 42d, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Norman Macleod of Macleod, of the 98th regiment, raised by Lieut.-Col. Commandant William Fullarton, Esq., of Fullarton, (with temporary rank only,) and of the 100th regiment, raised by Lieut.-Col. Commandant Humberston. There was also a subaltern's detachment of the Royal Artillery, and a lieutenant of Engineers, attached to the expedition, with the usual military and medical staff. The guns, field-pieces, mortars, shot, shells, ammunition, waggons, tumbrils, and other artillery stores, were embarked on board the ordnance store-ships.

On the sixteenth of April, 1781, while the squadron was lying at anchor in Port Praya Bay, in the island of St. Jago, the principal of the Cape de Verd Islands, and the seat of Government, into which it had put for water and refreshments, it was surprised and attacked, in this Portuguese neutral port, by a French squadron of five line of battle ships, commanded by Admiral Suffrein, who afterwards greatly distinguished himself when opposed to Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, in many battles on the Indian Seas.

Our ships had been permitted to anchor as they pleased, and were consequently all mixed and in no regular order. Many of the seamen from the ships of war were on shore getting off water, live stock, and other necessaries. The decks therefore were loaded and encumbered, and all was in confusion.

Ill prepared, however, as we were for such an unexpected attack, the French were completely repulsed and beaten off. *

The squadron sailed from Praya Bay in the beginning of May, and the commodore having detached Captain Pigot in his frigate, to the Southern extremity of Africa, to procure intelligence, he fortunately fell in with and captured a Dutch East Indiaman. Having returned to the squadron, the information thus obtained, induced the commodore and the general to give up all intention of attempting the Cape of Good Hope, for which their force was inadequate, in consequence of Admiral Suffrein's having got thither before them with his ships and troops. †

The commodore having learned that five large Dutch China ships, homeward-bound, were lying in Saldhana Bay, sailed in quest of them, and captured four, one having been set on fire and burnt.

Had it been necessary to land and employ any of the troops on this occasion, it was given out in general orders, that those from on board the Porpoise and Eagle transports were to receive their orders from *Major Campbell* of the hundredth regiment.

The commodore and the general having learned that Admiral Suffrein was bound for India, and having also been apprised of the defeat of Col.

* Dodsley's Annual Register for 1782: Historical Part, p. 106.

† Dodsley, 1782, p. 110.

Bailly by Tippoo, in September, 1780, saw the necessity of reinforcing both our navy and army in that quarter. All the troops were therefore ordered on for that country, as were the Hero, 74, the Monmouth, 64, and the Isis, 50. This ship was commanded by the Hon. Captain Lumley, who was afterwards killed in one of Sir Edward Hughes' battles with Suffrein. The Isis, though only a 50 gun-ship, was taken into the line.

Commodore Johnston returned home with his prizes, escorted by the Romney, the Jupiter, the Frigates, &c.

From the length of the voyage, and from other causes, we were attacked by the scurvy, which prevailed to an alarming extent. We therefore put in to Joanna, one of the Commoro islands, in the Mozambique Channel, in the beginning of September, to obtain fresh provisions, fruit, &c. which were cheap and plentiful. Here we remained about three weeks, by the end of which our scorbutic patients had recovered. But, from being allowed to sleep on shore, they carried with them, on re-embarking, the seeds of the Joanna fever, which soon broke out, and carried off a great number of officers and soldiers. The dangerous and malignant nature of this fever, was so well known to the Court of Directors, from the journals furnished by the commanders of their ships, that, as I understand, all their captains had positive orders not to allow any of their crews ever to sleep on shore, at any of the Commoro islands.

If this intelligence was communicated to our commander General Meadows, he did not profit by it. Dr. John Clark, in the third part of his observations on the diseases which prevail during long voyages, speaks of the destructive influence of sleeping ashore on any of the Commoro islands, of which there are four. See pages 26, 27, (*note*) 343 and 361 of his work.

The squadron sailed from Joanna, on the 21st or 22d of September, but, as it soon encountered the adverse monsoon, even the coppered ships could not make Bombay, and therefore put in to Morebaut Bay, on the coast of Arabia, towards the end of November. But four Indiamen, on board of which was the 2d battalion of the 42d, were driven still farther to leeward, and reached Kissen Bay, near the mouth of the Straits of Babelmandel, which connect the Red Sea with the Indian Ocean.

The coppered ships reached Bombay on the 26th January, 1782, the four Indiamen on the 6th of March, a difference of 38 days; and with them the voyage from Joanna to Bombay occupied five months and fourteen days. The writer of this Memoir has since made the same voyage in seventeen days, during the favourable monsoon, and in a copper-bottomed Indiaman.

The four Indiamen, the Asia, Latham, Locko, and Osterley, remained in Kissen Bay for about six weeks; during which time we continued on the most friendly terms with the natives, procur-

ing plenty of fresh meat and fish. When we first arrived, the flesh of the bullocks and sheep tasted strongly of fish, a principal part of their food, as there is very little grass or other vegetable or herbage, for the country deserves the epithet of Petrea, rather than of Felix.

The fish which these animals, as well as the camels ate, was the Sardinia, which was in great abundance and excellent. It was dried by the Arabs in pits, exposed to the extreme heat of the sun.

As the natives and we did not speak each other's language, and had no interpreter, it is surprising how we contrived to communicate reciprocal wants, and to get them mutually supplied.

They were highly delighted with the music of our bagpipes, and much amused at our Highlanders dancing reels. In return, they exhibited to us a kind of war-dance, for they were all armed with swords and shields.*

It had been intended to send round to the Coromandel coast, as they arrived at Bombay to join the army under Sir Eyre Coote, the troops which had come from England under the command of General Meadows; but this was not done, in consequence, I believe, of intelligence that the French fleet was waiting for us off Cape Comorin. Lieut.-Col. Humberston, therefore, with his own regiment, part of the 98th, (the bulk of which was serving

* See Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, No. 101. p. 585.

in the fleet as marines,) the four additional companies, and the detachment of Royal Artillery, landed at Calicut in February, 1782, where he found in command Major Abington of the Bombay Establishment. It appears, from a general order, issued March 28th, that the Colonel then assumed the sole command of both the King's and Company's troops. On the 30th of April, the second battalion, 42d, landed at Calicut, and joined the troops under Col. Humberston. *Major Campbell* then took the command of this corps, to which he had been transferred from the 100th regiment. *Vice* Major P. Graham, deceased.

Calicut, on the Malabar coast, near Tellichery, was the first place at which the Portuguese under Vasca de Gama touched in the year 1498; and on the 20th of November, in the previous year, the fleet under him had doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

While the second battalion of the 42d was lying at Calicut, Lieut. John Oswald sold out and quitted it. As this man was of an extraordinary character, and as his history cannot be generally known, I hope to be pardoned if I give, as briefly as possible, a sketch of his eventful life and death.

John Oswald was a native of Edinburgh, and the son, as I have been informed, of a jeweller or silversmith. It is supposed he was bred to his father's business; and as his education was good, I conclude that his parents were respectable. He enlisted into the 18th or Royal Irish, in which he

was made a serjeant; and while quartered at or near Deal, he fell in with a woman of some property, whom he married. Her money enabled him to purchase his discharge, and to buy an ensigncy in the first battalion 42d; and when the second battalion was raised, he obtained a lieutetenancy in it. He embarked with his regiment on the secret expedition already mentioned. As his funds did not enable him to join the mess in the transport on board of which he was, he lived by himself on the same rations as the soldiers, which the officers were also permitted to draw, and for which 3d. per day was deducted or stopped from the pay of both. During our long and tedious passage, he devoted his time to studying Greek and Latin, particularly the former. He sold out before the battalion was engaged in actual service, and he returned home overland. During his short stay in India, he so far became a Gentoo, (who admit of no proselytes) as to abstain from animal food. He performed frequent ablutions, and daily anointed his body with oil. In London, where he took up his residence on his return, he lived, I believe, by his pen. I never saw any of his works, but recollect that the title of one of them was "*Rancæ Evangelicæ*," or "Frogs turned Methodists," in which I understand he displayed no great respect for the truths of Christianity.

As his Greek studies had led him to admire republicanism, he became a strenuous admirer of the

French revolution in all its atrocities and horr
He therefore left London for Paris, was adn
ted into the service by the Convention, and obt
ed the command of a regiment of foot, at the h
of which, when gallantly leading it on at the b
tle of Pont de Cé, on the banks of the Loire, n
Angers, he was killed by a cannon ball, while
the same time a discharge of grape-shot killed
two sons, who were drummers in the same co
which their father commanded. He had no r
gion; and though the strong advocate of libe
and equality in the abstract, yet, as is often
case with such men, he was tyrannical and ar
trary in his disposition and conduct. Of this
gave a strong proof when acting as adjutant to c
corps. His behaviour to the men was so insuff
able as almost to lead to a mutiny. In York
Letters from France* are the following paragraph
"He (Oswald) dined on his roots one day at
party of some members of the Convention, at whi
I was present, and in the course of conversati
very coolly proposed, as the most effectual meth
of averting civil war, to put to death every su
pected man in France. I was shocked at such
sentiment coming from the mouth of an Englis
man; but Oswald had been for some time t
commandant of the pikemen of Paris, and in th
capacity had forgotten his natural character. T
expression was not suffered to pass unnoticed, a
from the famous Thomas Paine he received

* Anti-jacobin Review for 1806, vol. 23d, p. 277.

short but cutting reprimand. 'Oswald,' said he, 'you have been so long without tasting flesh, that you have now a most voracious appetite for blood.'

"His wives (for he had two) still reside in Paris.* They were extremely handsome, and he had brought his domestic economy to such a perfect state of discipline that they lived together in the greatest friendship and harmony,—a singular fact! which has, I believe, no parallel in the history of the fair sex."†

The author of this imperfect sketch knew Oswald intimately, both at home and on their way

* His first wife, the Deal woman, whom I had seen, and who was no beauty, must have been dead.

† Mr. Yorke does not seem to have been aware, that there is on record an anecdote which is very similar, in essential circumstances, to that which he has narrated of John Oswald's two wives. I do not remember where I have seen it, but the following is its substance: A Spanish gentleman, a married man, had unfortunately fallen into the hands of the Moors in Barbary, and was in slavery at Algiers; he was observed by the only daughter of a rich native, whose house was very near his place of confinement. She fell in love with him, contrived to let him know it, and to apprise him that she would find means for his escape, which she effected, but on the express condition that he would marry her on his arrival in his native country, to which she accompanied him. The merits of the case were strongly represented to his Holiness the Pope, who granted him a dispensation to espouse the Moorish lady; and it is farther said, that the two wives lived at bed and board for many years in the greatest cordiality and harmony.

to India, as they were always together in the same ship during the voyage. The above account of him has exceeded the space intended for it; but I must still add a curious anecdote connected with his history, and which I owe to the kindness of a much esteemed and valued friend much employed in diplomatic missions, in whose words I will relate it:—

"Dr. W. T., a book-maker by profession, met me in London a few days after my return from Corsica, and requested to call upon me to read over a paper in which he was much interested. He did not mention the subject, but intimated that my assistance might be of use. I waited on him the next day, and he read over to me a long deduction of circumstances, tending to prove that *Buonaparte's* real name was *John Oswald*, and that he was the son of a jeweller in Edinburgh. A person of that name had a son a furious democrat, who left this country, and is supposed to have entered the French army. He was a man of enterprise and courage, and a great admirer of the poems of Ossian, of which also Buonaparte was said to be an admirer. Upon this narrow basis of fact he raised a great structure of conjectures; and from the impression which the paper made upon me, I am satisfied that it would have convinced, or at least staggered the belief of persons less conversant than I was with all the circumstances connected with the history of Buonaparte and his family. I advised T. not to publish his paper, for

a lie detected almost as soon as uttered, neither can nor ever did good to any cause. He told me the names of those who had suggested this strange paper, and their opinion that the publication might do good. This opinion was very absurd. Buonaparte was then in the Florentine, opposite to Corsica. He had almost daily communication with that island. Our Government, to my knowledge, had frequently sent some of his Emigré relations to negotiate with him; and although the talents and character of Buonaparte were of infinitely more consequence than the knowledge of his family, still, had he been an impostor, the most ample proofs could have been procured, and his attempt at so absurd an imposture would have weakened or destroyed his power.

"I may add, that I dined on the day above-mentioned in company with General Paoli, who was much amused with the recital, and told me that he was the godfather of Buonaparte, and held him at the baptismal fount."

As it was deemed most essential, at that critical period, to create a diversion of Hyder's force, and to induce him to withdraw a part of his army from the Carnatic, it is understood, that under instructions and orders from the Council of the Presidency of Bombay, Colonel Humberston's march against Palagatcherry, and subsequently Brigadier-General Mathew's against Bednure, were directed.

Lieut.-Colonel Humbertson's small army consisted, in Europeans, of the four additional com-

panies, the second battalion 42d, a party of the 98th, the 100th, and the small detachment of artillery; in native troops, of a company of Topazes under a Captain Brownrigg, Bombay Establishment, the 2d, 8th, and 11th battalions of Bombay Sepoys. In addition to these, two battalions of Sepoys from the king of Travancore, our ally, joined us on September 22d, on the march to Palagatcherry. On the 6th of April, Colonel Humberston attacked, defeated, and dispersed, at Tricolore, a party of the enemy, after which the approaching rainy season put a stop to active operations.

During the rains the European troops at Calicut were subject to the cramp, which in many cases proved fatal. It affected not only the limbs, but the whole body was accompanied with excruciating pain, and was fearful and distressing to behold. It prevailed also among the European troops on the Coromandel coast, and among the seamen of Sir Edward Hughes' fleet.*

After the rains ceased Colonel Humberston resumed his design of marching against Palagatcherry, for which purpose the troops under his command marched from Calicut on the 2d of September, *Major Campbell* commanding the flank corps. They did not move on rapidly, for on the 29th we had only reached Ramgarie, a fort on an eminence about forty miles eastward of Paniany,

* Clarke's Observations on the Diseases prevalent in long voyages. Notes to pp. 80 and 81.

which the enemy evacuated. In this fort was found a considerable quantity of rice, which turned out of much comfort to our Highlanders, as a number of *querns* (handmills) were also found nearly of the same construction, and on the same principle, as the *querns* of their native country. They were, however, made not of stone, but of a very hard kind of wood. These were a great prize to our men, who immediately put them in use; and those of the company to which I belonged, the grenadiers, not only furnished themselves daily with flour, which they converted into *scones and bannocks*, all the time we remained at Ramgarie, but also did me a great kindness by continually supplying me with an ample share, which I reckoned a great luxury. These fine fellows took every opportunity of shewing their attachment to me, and as there was *no love lost*, I was always most happy when I had it in my power to return it, an opportunity of doing which I never neglected.

While we lay here an affair took place which attracted the notice of the army, and which did infinite credit to the presence of mind, firmness, and steadiness of the small body concerned in it, who ably and bravely extricated themselves from an emergency of great trial and danger.

Captain John Grant * (of Glenmoriston), Lieutenant Charles Sutherland, Serjeant Cummings,

* Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, No. 90, p. 217; vol. ii.

Corporal Monroe, and a private (I think of the name of M'Leod) of the second battalion 42d, went out to shoot bullocks, of which many were running wild in the country that had been conquered by Hyder Ally, as the commissary of provisions had it not in his power to supply us regularly with beef. Just as this party had ascended a little hill, they saw advancing towards them a party of the enemy's irregular horse, about twenty in number, and brandishing their drawn scimitars. The little party immediately formed, determined to sell their lives dearly; and the captain gave positive orders that one-half only of his party should fire at a time, and that the other should reserve their fire till the first had re-loaded.

The first fire brought down some of the horsemen, which checked them. They again attempted to advance, but the next fire produced a similar effect with the first, which so staggered them, that after a little debate among themselves they thought it better to relinquish the enterprise, and our party were allowed to regain the camp without farther molestation. These irregular troopers, called Looties, receive no pay from the power they serve, but subsist by plunder. Their horses are their own property, and are not replaced when they die or are killed, which will account for these men's retreat from a party from which they at first apprehended little resistance and no loss.

The army remaining at Ramgarie for a considerable time, did not reach Mangaricottah till the

14th of October, and the environs of Palligatcherry till the 19th. This is a post of great importance in every point in which it can be considered, and is particularly described in Fullarton's View of the British Interests in India.*

This fort Colonel Humberston found too strong for his force and equipment. He was therefore obliged to retreat from before it, with some loss; and in the general orders which he issued on the 24th, the following honourable mention is made of *Colonel Campbell*:—

"On this particular occasion thanks are due to *Major Campbell* and the corps under his command, for covering so effectually the march of the army on the 22d inst."

Though Colonel Humberston failed in the full accomplishment of the object which had carried him against Pallagatcherry, it in a very great degree was successful; as it created that diversion which had been expected from it, as will appear from what follows; for on the 19th November the army marched from Ramgarie, followed by one under Tippoo Saheb in person, Hyder's eldest son and heir; and on this occasion *Colonel Campbell* had another opportunity of effectually covering the retreat, which he conducted with his usual ability. His horse was shot under him.

* Pp. 157, 165. This Fort was twice taken by us; by the army under Colonel Fullerton in November 1783, and by that under General James Stuart in 1790.

In the evening the army reached the Paniany river, which was so much swollen by rain from the hills, that our pursuers thought they had gotten us into their power, and that as we could not escape them, we would fall an easy prey to them next morning, when they meant to attack us, as we afterwards learnt from prisoners taken at Paniany. Every preparation, however, was quietly made on our part to cross the river in case of its falling, which it most fortunately did. Our field-pieces were dragged through by our elephants; and the ammunition, taken out of the tumbrils, was carried over on their backs. The troops tied their cartridge boxes on their heads; and each fixing his arm in his comrade's, (as is practised in the Highlands on similar occasions,) they resisted the force of the current, and all crossed without loss; and had great reason to congratulate each other on reaching in safety, and without the enemy's knowledge, the opposite bank. At daylight the next morning the enemy were greatly surprised and disappointed at finding us gone, and crossed to follow us, but we had the start of them so fully that they could not overtake us; so that about noon of the 20th we reached Paniany without molestation, though the enemy were in pursuit of us, and were in sight.

Here Lieut.-Col. Norman M'Leod of the second battalion 42d, being the senior officer, assumed the command.* Our retreat was well conduct-

* Dodsley for 1783, p. 85.

did, and did Colonel Humberston much credit; and the activity and resolution of the troops under *Major Campbell's* command, which covered the rear, kept the enemy at such distance, that we experienced very little loss.*

Lieut.-Colonel M'Leod had just arrived from Madras to join and take command of his regiment. His own company, and those of Captains Hay, Macdowall, and Thomas Dalyell, had been embarked on board the Myrtle transport, which had unaccountably separated from the squadron before the latter doubled the Cape of Good Hope.

This vessel found its way to St. Augustine's Bay in Madagascar, the place of *rendezvous* pointed out by the Captain's instructions in case of separation. Having waited here a considerable time without the squadron's calling for them, instead of proceeding to India, the ship retraced its path, made St. Helena, and reached Madras in 1782, long after having been given up for lost. The Captain of the Myrtle was a very good seaman, but no navigator; and, but for the science and talents of Captain Dalyell, which enabled him to take the necessary observations, the ship would never have reached her destination.†

Captain James Drummond, of the second battalion 42d, whose company was on board the Three Sisters transport, had gone on board the

* Chambers' Journal, vol. ii. No. 80, p. 223.

† Chambers' Edinburgh Journal, No. 8, p. 223, vol. ii.

Myrtle, to dine with Colonel M'Leod, when it was calm, and a gale of wind which sprung up prevented his return to his own ship. This officer, who then had no other income than his pay, experienced afterwards a very great and favourable change of fortune by the restoration of the forfeited estates, which placed him at the head of his family, with a revenue of £18,000 *per annum*; to which was subsequently added the title of Lord Perth, restored in his person. He left no son, and the title is supposed to be extinct.*

Tippoo Sultan commanded the army which pursued Colonel Humberston, and which consisted, it is said, of 8000 regular infantry, including some hundreds of French and other Europeans belonging to Lally's corps; of 10,000 cavalry, above 6000 irregulars, and a numerous train of artillery.

The town of Paniany, the post occupied by Colonel M'Leod, had some natural advantages. It had the sea on one side, the river on the other, and was covered in front by a wood and morass. But still the Colonel was perfectly aware, from the smallness of the force with which he had to defend it, of the expediency and even the necessity of strengthening it by field-works; which were immediately begun and carried on under the orders and directions of Captain Dalyell, second battalion 42d, whom he appointed chief engineer on this

* Gen. Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders. *Note*, p. 190, vol. ii. first edition.

occasion. Every other arrangement was made to receive the enemy, should they attack us.

Lieut.-Col. Humberston commanded the position on the right, *Major Campbell*, second battalion 42d regiment, that of the centre; and Major Shaw of the 100th, that of the left.

Before our works were nearly completed, the enemy, on the morning of the 28th November, attacked these last two positions, and were completely defeated, and repulsed with great loss.*

On the 29th of November, Colonel M'Leod issued a general order, from which the following is an extract:

G. O.—*Paniany, Head Quarters, 29th November*, 1782.

"It is with the most sincere joy that the commander of this brave little army congratulates the men on the success of yesterday.

"Attacked on ground not nearly fortified, by very superior numbers, skilfully disposed, and regularly led on, they had nothing to depend on but their native valour, their discipline, and the conduct of their officers. These were nobly exerted, and the event has been answerable. The enemy has suffered most severely, and the commander-in-chief, while he most tenderly regrets the sufferings of those officers and men who have received wounds in the gallant performance of their duty, calls on the army to rejoice with him that the general loss is inconsiderable.

* Dodsley's Annual Register for 1783, p. 86.

"The quick vigilance of *Major Campbell*, in flying to the attack on the first alarm, the coolness and boldness with which he repeatedly charged the columns of the enemy, his perseverance in the field after being wounded, and the zeal with which he continued to perform every duty in that situation, furnished a noble instance of an accomplished soldier; these must procure him the highest praises of those who know and love their profession, and they have greatly endeared him to his old companion in the war." *

The troops under the command of Lieut.-Col. M'Leod remained at Paniany till January 1783, when they joined the Bombay army at Cundapore, commanded by Brig.-General Richard Mathews.

This officer, we believe, originally belonged to the Madras Establishment, in which he had risen no higher than Major; nor have we ever been informed for what particular services, or from what interest, the Court of Directors had appointed him their commander-in-chief at the Presidency of Bombay. But it may be safely asserted, that they were most unfortunate in their choice, and had reason to regret their appointment of him to a situation to which he was not equal. †

In the end of 1782, or beginning of 1783, the Government of Bombay had sent him down to the Malabar coast with a body of troops belonging to

* They served together in America. Orderly-book, second battalion 42d regiment.

† See Appendix to the Chronicle; Dodsley, 1783.

that establishment, to be joined by those under the command of Lieut.-Colonel M'Leod, with positive orders and injunctions, if he found the reports of Hyder Ally's death confirmed, to use his best exertions to penetrate by the Ghauts without delay into the Bednure or Canara Province. This he successfully accomplished, making himself master of its capital, Hydernagur, early in February, 1783; though he had represented in very strong terms from Cundapore, that the condition of his army was not such as would warrant the attempt, and that fatal consequences were likely to attend a failure. *

After the troops under Lieut.-Col. M'Leod had joined Brigadier-General Mathews at Cundapore,† the General formed his army into four divisions or brigades, the third of which, or flank-brigade, was placed under *Major Campbell's* command.

Shortly after General Mathews had been put in possession, through the intervention of Captain Campbell,‡ of the town and fort of Bednure or Hydernagur, (by an arrangement with Hyat Saheb,§ a man greatly trusted by Hyder Ally, though not by his son Tippoo Sultan,) the Brig.-General detached Captain M'Culloch with the 15th

* See Appendix to the Chronicle; Dodsley, 1783.

† Situated on the coast of Malabar, lat 13° 40′ N.

‡ See Captain Campbell's Narrative of a Journey Overland to India, c. 80, p. 64.

§ See Hyat Sahib's character in the above work, c. 8, p. 176, sixth edition, London, 1808.

battalion of Bombay Sepoys, which he commanded, to take possession of the *Fort* of *Annantpore*.*

The Captain carried with him orders from Hyat Saheb, the governor of the province, to the killedar, or officer commanding in the fort, to deliver it up to him. This he refused to do; at the same time committing a violent breach of the law of nations, and the customs and usages of war, by detaining and imprisoning some of the captains, native commissioned and non-commissioned officers, whom he had sent with a flag of truce to demand the surrender.

Captain M'Culloch not having the means of reducing the fort, made his report accordingly to Brigadier-General Mathews, who ordered *Major Campbell* on that service, with a reinforcement of troops and guns.

As the killedar still refused to deliver up the fort, the Major was obliged to attack it regularly. A battery was therefore erected against it, and a practicable breach made. It was stormed and carried, no doubt with considerable loss to the besieged, but certainly not with the accompanying revolting acts of cruelty and inhumanity shamefully laid to the charge of the besiegers in sundry publications of the day, and particularly in Dodsley's Annual Register for 1783, p. 91.

These aspersions were refuted by Mr. John Moodie, surgeon in the Royal Artillery, a man

* Annantpore, in the Canara country, is situated on the Seringapatam road, about 24 miles east from Bednure.

of character and veracity, who was present at the siege, and who published, in 1788, a pamphlet in the form of letters, entitled, "Remarks on the most important military operations on the western side of India, in 1783 and 1784:" Printed for Messrs Robson and Clarke, New Bond Street, and for J. Sewel, Cornhill.

Mr. Moodie was surgeon to that detachment of Royal Artillery which was attached to the secret expedition under Commodore Johnston and General Meadows, and which was commanded by Lieut. William Hislop of that corps. This was an elder brother of that gallant and distinguished officer, Sir Thomas Hislop. Having received his promotion, Captain Hislop was with his detachment in General Mathews' army; and on our first day's march towards the Ghauts, he was wounded by a rocket, which caused his death. It struck him in the calf of the leg; and, as the composition was still burning, it is said to have made the blood boil out of the wound. He was a man of high spirit, and an excellent officer; and, as he apprehended the loss of his leg would incapacitate him for further active service, he would not submit to amputation, which would probably have saved his life. The orifice was so large, that he soon sunk under the great discharge.

On the subject of the barbarities so falsely said to have been committed by the troops at Annantpore, we have referred for refutation to Mr. Moodie's pamphlet and evidence in the first in-

stance. But we are happy to be able to add the testimony of an officer of high character, the late Col. Mark Wilks, of the Madras Establishment.

In 1810 and 1817, this gentleman, who had been for years our resident at the court of the King of Mysore, published, in three volumes, "Historical Sketches of the South of India." At page 456 of Vol. II. he thus writes:

"The touching tale, descriptive of 400 beautiful women, all bleeding with the wounds of the bayonet, and either already dead or expiring in each other's arms, the soldiers stripping them of their jewels, and committing every outrage on their bodies, while others, rather than be torn from their relations, threw themselves into large tanks and were drowned, has long been traced to its author, a silly young man (a Lieutenant Sheen), whose "Amendé honourable," for dressing his adventures into a romantic tale, is not so generally known as the historical record of that supposed event in the respectable pages of the Annual Register. Of conduct so atrocious, if true, the reprobation could not be too severe; and if unfounded, the disproof could not be too anxiously established. The author of this work (the Historical Sketches of the South of India) has therefore not neglected the ample means within his reach of ascertaining that the tale, in all its parts, is destitute of every shadow of foundation in truth!

The siege and assault of Annantpore took place upwards of fifty years ago, and in all human pro-

bability few are now alive of those who were engaged in that service. One, however, survives, who from his own personal knowledge can corroborate the testimonies of Mr. Moodie and Colonel Wilks, and can positively assert that Lieutenant Spens, of the second battalion 42d regiment, was sent by *Major Campbell*, as soon as we had obtained complete possession, with a detachment to go round the fort to prevent further effusion of blood, to grant protection where necessary, and to restore order as far as possible in such a juncture. This person knows that Lieutenant Spens, in compliance with the orders which he had received from *Colonel Campbell*, marched round and round the fort with his party, and thus must have met with and seen the evidences of the cruelties and barbarities most unjustly laid to the charge of his companions in arms, had they really been perpetrated; and he also knows that Mr. Spens has often declared and affirmed that Mr. Sheen's account was in this matter a tissue of falsehoods, and a vile and calumnious fabrication.

After the fall of Annantpore, *Major Campbell*, in compliance with Brigadier-General Mathews' injunctions, marched with his detachment, with the intention of attacking and beating up the camp of the enemy at Simoga, about thirty miles from Annantpore, on the road to Seringapatam. It was designed to take them by surprise, and a forced march was therefore necessary. Accordingly, we moved with scarcely any baggage, and with no

bazar, which gave rise to a most unpleasant privation. For several days we lived on broth and beef without salt, one of the most annoying of the lesser miseries of human life.

Lieutenant-Colonels M'Leod and Humberston having thought themselves called on, and having obtained his leave to retire from General Mathews' army, repaired to Bombay. The General addressed a letter to the President and Select Committee of that Presidency, complaining of the conduct of these officers, which induced the Committee to call on Colonel M'Leod, the senior officer, for an explanation. He gave every information in his power, and assigned his reasons for quitting the army; and the Select Committee, on due deliberation, and after considering the conduct of General Mathews, resolved to remove him from the command* till he should clear up the charges against him. This he never had an opportunity of doing; for after his surrender of the fort of Bednure or Hydernagur to Tippoo, that cruel tyrant ordered him and many of his officers to be poisoned; which act of atrocious barbarity was carried into effect.

The Select Committee appointed Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod to succeed General Mathews; but on his proceeding down the Malabar coast,

* See Extract from a letter from the President and Select Committee of Bombay to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. Appendix to the Chronicle of Dodsley for 1783, p. 286.

accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Humberston and Major Shaw of the 100th, the Company's armed snow, Ranger, commanded by Lieutenant Pruen of the Bombay marine, was unexpectedly attacked by a Mahratta fleet from Gheriah, and taken after a most gallant and desperate resistance. Major Shaw was shot dead on the spot, and Colonel Humberston died of his wounds; but Colonel M'Leod, who was shot through the lungs, and wounded in two other places, recovered; and when liberated from the Mahratta prison, returned to Bombay on the 29th of May, the Ranger being in too disabled and despoiled a condition to make her way to the southward.*

Fortunately for the second battalion 42d regiment, General Mathews had detached it from Bednure under the command of *Major Campbell*, to occupy the two unimportant mud forts of Carrical and Morbidry, situated in the low country, at the bottom of the Ghauts, and lying between them and Mangalore. From this circumstance the Royal Highlanders escaped the sad and disastrous fate of the rest of the Brigadier-General's army; and it afterwards gave them the opportunity of highly distinguishing themselves under their gallant and able commander, as will appear in the sequel. The battalion reached these forts toward the end of February, and I have never heard any good reason assigned for the General's

* See the Extract to which reference is made in the last note.

having thus gotten rid of such a valuable portion of his small European force. About the middle of April the battalion left these forts, and marched to Goorpore, nearer the coast; and this it left on the 25th of that month for the immediate neighbourhood of Mangalore.

On the 5th of May, 1783, the following order was issued by *Major Campbell* at Mangalore:—

"The Governor and Select Committee of Bombay having thought proper to remove Brigadier-General Mathews from the command of the army, and to suspend him the Hon. Company's service, until he clear up certain parts of his conduct, and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel M'Leod to succeed him in the command of the army in the Bednure country; but he having unfortunately fallen into the hands of the Mahrattas, the Governor and Select Committee have thought proper to appoint *Major John Campbell* to the provisional command of the said army. He therefore desires that all orders issued by him be punctually obeyed."

Tippoo having taken Bednure, turned his thoughts toward Mangalore; and about the end of April, he sent a detachment from his army down the Ghauts, consisting of about 4000 horse and foot, with some field-pieces. Towards midnight on the sixth of May, *Major Campbell* marched from Mangalore, with about 1400 firelocks, with the intention of surprising the enemy, which he did. He attacked them about break of day, put them to the route, and took their artillery, which con-

sisted of a few French brass field-pieces, and tumbrills and travelling-carriages complete. The draught-bullocks, to the number of 180, large fine animals, were a great prize; as we could no longer get any supplies of cattle for the commissariat, the country being overrun and in possession of the enemy. The loss on either side was inconsiderable; but the defeat of this detachment hastened the Sultan's march; and on the 19th of May, the vanguard of his army reached the heights of Cuddric, within four miles of Mangalore.

Mangalore*, or Corial Bunder, situated on the banks of a river which flows into the sea, and in a rich and fertile country, was a place of very considerable trade, both of export and import; and none of Hyder's acquisitions of territory had been held by him in greater estimation. All his views and hopes of becoming a formidable naval power centred in it; and his attention to *this* object had been so persevering and unremitting, that the rudiments of a navy were rising at this place. Here there were three ships of war from 50 to 60 guns each, in great forwardness, and several others of different sizes were on the stocks; which vessels, we believe, were destroyed when Mangalore fell into our hands.

* See View of the South Face of Mangalore Fort, and another from the sand-bank in the River; with a plan and references, in Brigade-Major Wolseley's account of the siege. See also Mr. Moodie's description, in the pamphlet to which references have been made, p. 62.

This fondness of Hyder Ally for Mangalore seems to have descended to his son Tippoo, in full force; and the proof of this is in the great sacrifice which he made by withdrawing so large a portion of his force from the Carnatic, and detaining it so long before the fort.

The fort of Mangalore* was situated nearly in the centre of the Malabar coast, and about 13° N. lat., and 72° E. long.; distant about 100 miles from Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's dominions. The fortress was erected on an eminence, and consisted of an upper and a lower fort; but the two were connected by a flight of steps. It had a ditch, in some parts deep and wide, but not completed all round; and its structure was after the Eastern mode of fortification, which is very inferior to the European. It had a *fausse-bray, glacis*, and covered way; and towers instead of bastions. It certainly was not a place of strength; but, fortunately for the garrison, Tippoo *took the bull by the horns*, and made his attack where it was strongest.

In the year 1786, an account of the siege was published by Brigade-Major Wolseley, King's troops, who was present at it; and it was also noticed

* We understand that it was completely rased to the very bottom by the orders of Tippoo, who did not choose to leave a vestige of it remaining that could recal the circumstance so mortifying to his pride, that so small a force as was opposed to his immense army, should have so long defeated all his attempts to make himself master of it.

in 1788, in Mr. John Moodie's remarks on the most important military operations on the western side of India, in 1783 and 1784. It is probable that these two volumes are out of print. In his preface the Brigade-Major says, that—

"His esteem and respect for the memory of *Colonel Campbell*, tempts him to submit the recital, with all its imperfections, to the public eye. And that should he succeed in placing the conduct and behaviour of that universally esteemed officer, together with those of the rest of the officers and troops who so bravely shared with him in the labours and dangers attending the siege of Mangalore, in that light in which he feels they deserve to be placed, as it was his sole motive, so shall it be the only reward he expects or wishes from the publication."

The Brigade-Major was a most respectable Irish gentleman, and an excellent officer.

By the 20th of May, Tippoo's army had assembled close to Mangalore. From the information we obtained, we had reason to believe it consisted of 60,000 horse; of 30,000 regular well-disciplined infantry; of a great body of irregulars, match-lock men, and rocket-boys; of a French battalion of about 600 men, commanded by Colonel Cossignè, of the regiment of the isle of France (by us called the Mauritius); of Colonel Lally's corps, composed of Europeans of various nations; and of a troop of dismounted French cavalry, commanded by a Captain Boudena.

The train of artillery was said to consist of about 100 pieces of various calibres; and, including the gunners necessary to serve these, it is believed that the whole force amounted to about 140,000 fighting men. Besides the guns which accompanied Tippoo's army, many of which were 18 and 24 pounders, there were afterwards brought up seven large mortars; out of which, instead of shells, they discharged ponderous stones, fixed to the mouth of the mortars by wooden plugs. The damage done by these engines was considerable, and most annoying, as it was generally only during the night that they were kept in continual play. Shells would have been perhaps more destructive, as more might have been killed and wounded by their explosion; but of those who were struck by the stones scarcely any recovered, such was the shock given to the frame. They forbade rest and sleep, and destroyed our roofs, which were not bomb-proof, and which we had no means of repairing—a sad grievance during the rainy season.

They damaged our provisions, and staved our arrack-casks, articles which we could ill spare, and could not replace. Brigade-Major Wolseley states in his journal, that we occupied a post on a hill with two battalions of Sepoys and a few light iron guns; the post being situated at random-shot from the fort, but not near enough to be covered and protected by the guns. This post commanded two of the principal roads leading towards the fort, and on this account was eligible to be maintained.

But there were weighty objections against our attempt to keep it; and, had Colonel Campbell consulted his own better judgment, he would have withdrawn his force in time. But, contrary to his usual practice, he suffered himself to be overpersuaded by some of his officers; and, on the morning of the 23d, at break of day, Tippoo attacked the post. Our sepoys immediately gave way; and the enemy made prisoners of three European subalterns, two native commissioned, and twenty-six native non-commissioned officers, and 199 sepoys. After this disaster, we were obliged to evacuate all our other out-posts, with the exception of two, one called the Ram Tower, the other the Cask Battery. The first was circular, and of mason-work; the second was constructed of casks filled with earth firmly rammed down: both had embrasures and guns, and were so near the fort that they were covered by its guns; and the whole of the troops were withdrawn, under cover of our cannon. On this occasion our commandant acted with his usual discretion; for, in the orders which he issued, he reminded the troops of the laurels which they had so often gained, and judiciously passed over their late timidity; assigning, as a plausible reason for it, their having been obliged to retreat. He concluded with expressions of reliance on the great services which he expected from their future good conduct.

On the 24th of May, the day after this unfortunate affair, the strength of the garrison, of those

fit for duty, by the return of Brigade-Major Wolseley, was as follows:—

Artillery, European and native, including officers, - - -	152
European infantry, King's and Co.'s do.	333
Native infantry, including officers and non-commissioned officers,	1398
Grand total,	1883

The siege commenced on the 23d of May, under very many disadvantages. There was a want of safe hospitals, of barrack accommodation, and of provisions, medicines, wines, spirits, &c.; and the troops were exposed to all the inclemencies of the monsoon. The siege continued actively for about two months and a half; but, on the 2d of August,* articles of a cessation of arms were signed and exchanged through the mediation and instrumentality of Monsieur Piveron de Morlay, envoy from the Court of France at Tippoo Sultan's Durbar. After this the siege may be said to have been turned into a blockade; during which, if we incurred less personal danger and risk of falling into the enemy's hands, our various privations increased daily, and our situation became every moment more melancholy and distressing.

Shortly after the cessation of hostilities, Tippoo Saheb expressed a wish to see Colonel Campbell; an invitation of which the latter accepted. On the

* See Major of Brigade Wolseley's Journal.

13th of August the French envoy came into the fort, and afterwards accompanied the Colonel to the Nabob's Durbar or Court.

The Prince gave him a most polite and gracious reception, and paid him many high compliments, which the Colonel returned in kind, in the same oriental style, acquitting himself on the occasion with great propriety and eclat.

The Colonel was accompanied by several of his officers; and two of them, Captains Grant and Spens, of the second battalion 42d Regiment, were dressed and attired in the Highland garb, which excited the Sultan's admiration. He presented each of us with a shawl; and, after our return to the fort, he sent the Colonel a very fine horse, which, in our great scarcity of provisons, we afterwards killed and ate. This present was accompanied with a very polite message.

During the cessation we received more than once, by sea, supplies of provisions by no means adequate to our wants; nor did they, from their kind and quality, contribute much to our comfort, or prevent much sickness.

We were several times also flattered with the near prospect of relief by ships of war, with troops, appearing off the bar. We were, however, alway sadly and cruelly disappointed, and left to our severe fate. But it may be presumed, that the publica u thorities were most anxious to avoid infringing the terms of the armistice; as fresh hostilities with Tippoo would have retarded those negotiations for peace

which the Company had so much at heart to conclude with him, having sent Commissioners from Madras to his Durbar for that purpose. These Commissioners were Civil Servants on the Madras Establishment.

By the 20th of December the provisions were nearly expended. The scurvy and other diseases then began to make great havoc among the troops; and, by the 23d of January, 1784, the garrison was in such a diseased and famished state, that our excellent Commander saw the necessity of assembling a council of war to consider our sad situation, and consult and advise as to what was to be done. The majority were decidedly of opinion that it was unavoidably necessary to propose terms of capitulation to the Nabob. These were accordingly prepared and presented, and, with a few trifling exceptions, accepted by him.

On the 30th, the troops began to embark for Tellicherry,* one of our factories on the Malabar coast, where they arrived on the 4th of February, 1784. The following is Brigade-Major Wolseley's return of the troops fit for duty on that day:—

Artillery, including officers, . . .	87
King's and Company's European infantry, do.	185
Native troops, ditto, ...	584
Total,	856

* I have in my possession, and preserve as a precious relic, a general return of his Majesty's troops belonging to the Mangalore garrison, present at Tellicherry on the 11th of February, 1784, signed by Colonel Campbell.

The defence of Mangalore, for such a length of time, with its attendant circumstances, may be justly considered as one of the most important events of that war with Tippoo and the French, which ended in the peace of 1784; for nothing was ever more critical than the state of the British affairs in India at that period. At such a juncture, the compelling the Sultan to withdraw the greater part of his forces from the Carnatic, and to detain it so long on the Malabar coast, was accomplishing an object of the greatest importance. Had he remained in the Carnatic to co-operate with the French troops under the Marquis de Bussy and Monsieur Duchemin, there is no saying how disastrous the result might have been. While, therefore, the obstinate defence of this fortress must be deemed a most brilliant military achievement, entitling Colonel Campbell and his garrison to the greatest praise, viewed in its political consequences it merited the gratitude of their country in general, and of the East India Company in particular.

In a subsequent part of this sketch it will appear that the Company, at least, was duly sensible of the Colonel's merits, and aware of the value of his services, and of those of his troops.

Colonel W. Fullarton, who commanded the southern army, says, in his View "of the British Interests in India," page 172, that the garrison of Mangalore, under its inestimable commander, Colonel Campbell, had made a defence seldom

equalled and never surpassed; for that, with a handful of men, worn out with fatigue and famine, he had, for many months, resisted a formidable army; and that Tippoo's whole power, assisted by the science of his French auxiliaries, could not force a breach that had long been laid open.

The late Hon. Colonel Colin Lindsay, brother of the late Earl of Balcarres, says, in his "Military Miscellany," that he conceives the defence of Cobberg, in Pomerania, by Major Heeden and his small garrison, and that of Mangalore, in the East Indies, by Colonel Campbell and the second battalion Royal Highlanders, to be as noble examples as any in history.

In summing up his account of the siege, Brigade-Major Wolseley thus expresses himself:—That the Colonel, finding his health on the decline, was obliged to quit the army on the 9th of February, and proceeded to Bombay, where he arrived on the 13th of March, and died of consumption on the 23d of the same month, universally lamented. "I know not," continues the Brigade-Major, "words sufficiently strong and expressive to convey an idea of his just merits;" and concludes to the effect, that his brilliant actions speak best for themselves, and that as long as the gallant defence of Mangalore is recorded in the annals of history, so long will our beloved commander stand high in the list of those officers most distinguished for their zeal, valour, and exemplary conduct.

In the course of the Memoir I have already availed myself of the work of Colonel Mark Wilks, a very valuable publication, and of great authority. In it he has taken an opportunity of mentioning the siege of Mangalore, and observes, that the command of that fort had devolved on Colonel Campbell, whose memorable defence is well recorded in a little volume before the public (this must be Brigade-Major Wolseley's account), which furnishes a plain, unambitious journal of facts, and an interesting and instructive military lesson, and developes the rare combination of professional talents and mental resources possessed by this lamented officer. And as he proceeds, he states, that Tippoo did not permit himself to doubt that the impression arising from his first success (the carrying our post on the hill on the 23d of May *) would produce an immediate surrender. He had, however, the mortification, he continues to say, to find opposed to him a commander who viewed his mighty hosts with the most perfect composure, and considered the driving in of his outposts, however early and unfortunate in its circumstances, as an event in the ordinary course of the service. He dismissed, without condescending to answer the flag of truce, bearing a summons for the immediate surrender as he valued his life; and Tippoo, perceiving a regular siege to be indispensable, and the thunder-storms preceding the monsoon to have al-

* See page 50.

ready commenced, thought proper to send above the Ghauts the whole of his stable horse. They were, however, overtaken at the bottom of the Ghauts by its full violence, and not more than half of the horses survived to reach their eastern cantonments. The Colonel then goes on to relate that this siege was urged with all the virulent energy of the Sultan; that three regular attacks embraced the faces of the fort accessible by land; that the excessive violence of the monsoon was unfavourable to rapid progress; but that a proportion of the faces attacked exhibited, instead of a few breaches, masses of continuous ruin. Mortars, he adds, for projecting stones, attached to plugs prepared for the purpose, although inferior to a regular bombardment, produced constant annoyance and numerous casualties throughout the night; and, as operations advanced, a great extent of lodgment on the crest of the *glacis*, and of covered sap for filling the ditch, brought the assailants and defenders into incessant contact, and attempts to penetrate by assault were repeated and repelled in every quarter, until they became almost an affair of daily routine. Colonel Wilks concludes this part of his subject by informing us that the fatigues of a tedious and harassing service had exhausted all that was mortal of this brave and interesting officer, that he was compelled by illness to quit the associates of his sufferings in February, and that he died on the 23d of March.

In 1818, the year after the last part of Colonel Wilks' work had appeared, Major-General Keith M'Alister, of the Madras Establishment, circulated a printed statement regarding the peace concluded with Tippoo at Mangalore. He had, we believe, been one of the officers of the escort accompanying the three Commissioners sent by the Government of Madras to negotiate the peace in question These Commissioners, for certain reasons, had sent M'Alister to Tellicherry with dispatches for Colonel Campbell, and what follows is an account of the interview.

"On delivering my dispatches to Colonel Campbell, the brave defender of Mangalore, I found that gallant man in the last stage of a consumption, and in so emaciated and enfeebled a state, that what he spoke was in a low tone of voice, only to be heard by advancing my ear close to his lips. As a necessary precaution he communicated to me verbally his reply to the Commissioners, lest I should be under the necessity of destroying any written dispatches before reaching Mangalore. The Colonel exculpated Tippoo from any breach of the articles of capitulation of Mangalore."

With respect to the conspiracy of Mahomed Ally, one of Tippoo's Generals, the Colonel said, "that chieftain had opened a communication with him, and he regretted exceedingly that he had not sooner known the full scope of his views, and the real character of that intrepid personage." He had offered to deliver Tippoo Sultan into the

hands of the defender of Mangalore, and would have engaged to do this on a night afterwards to be fixed, when the Colonel was to send out from the fort a detachment of two or three hundred men, to whom the tyrant was to be delivered; but the Colonel, doubting the sincerity of Mahomed Ally on this decisive and delicate step, and aware that, in the event of a miscarriage, the loss of the detachment would prove fatal to the strength of the garrison, he declined to close with his proposal, in which, all things duly considered, he probably acted prudently and wisely, for it may be conceived that Tippoo may have been aware of this conspiracy when it was hatching; but, be that as it may, he discovered it, and he condemned 70 or 80 of the conspirators, including Mahomed Ally, to be hanged on three gibbets, which were still standing when our Commissioners arrived near Mangalore; and as they encamped close to them, a report prevailed (unfounded, I believe, General M'Alister thought), that they had been erected or continued to intimidate the Commissioners, and to induce them to consent to terms of peace more favourable to the Prince than they would otherwise have granted him."

The following is Major-General M'Alister's account of the heroic behaviour of Mahomed Ally, when brought to the fatal tree for execution.

"Mahomed Ally, preparing for the awful moment of that change so universally dreaded by all, save the bravest and the best of the human race,

espying a French surgeon among the multitude who came to witness his fearful end, called out to him, in a firm and commanding tone, to approach; which unexpected command the surgeon obeyed instantly. On his coming close up, Mahomed Ally stretched out his arm, saying, 'Feel my pulse, and if you find any symptoms of trepidation or alarm, proclaim it;—the Sultan intends to put me to death, as he has already done too many of my friends; he may put me to death, but to frighten me is beyond his power.' This undaunted behaviour had its effect; the Sultan pardoned the heroic conspirator, who was afterwards sent off under pretence of being consigned to confinement in Seringapatam; but he was never more heard of. Mahomed Ally had been a great favourite with Hyder Ally, and had enjoyed his confidence, which it is said that his son Tippoo had withdrawn from him; this he keenly and strongly felt, it is believed, and which probably led him to plan the capture and the ruin, and overthrow of his master.'

Captain Le Couteur, in his "Letters from India," speaking of Colonel Campbell, says, that on his arrival at Bombay, the Governor paid him all the honours which he deserved; that he entered the place amid the grateful acclamations of the inhabitants, who accompanied him to the house where he was about to end his days, and that his funeral was magnificent. On mentioning the siege of Mangalore, he thus expresses himself—"That the

siege of Gibraltar, which made so great a noise in Europe, was but the play of children in comparison."* From its peculiar situation, its occasional relief by the grand fleet of England, in spite of the combined fleets of France and Spain, and the circumstance of two French Princes of the blood having joined, as volunteers, the army besieging Gibraltar, it naturally attracted the notice of all Europe. Its defence was conducted with every display of talent, perseverance, and bravery; the Houses of Lords and Commons voted thanks to the garrison; his Majesty very properly, in the first place, made the Governor a Knight of the Bath, and afterwards raised Sir G. A. to the peerage, under the title of Lord Heathfield, now, I believe, extinct.

This fortress, very strong by nature, was, by art skilfully applied on its fortifications, rendered so impregnable, that it could be lost only by treachery or starvation; but Mangalore enjoyed none of these advantages. Situate in a remote corner of the world, its defence was generally as little known as appreciated; and those who defended it during the height of the monsoon, were not only, from the faultiness of the fortifications, exposed to constant risk and danger, but laboured under many sad difficulties and privations.

In Gibraltar, where, it appears, there may have been about 317 commissioned officers during the

* See Postcript, p. 69.

siege, of that number five only were killed, and 36 wounded; total, 41—or, in the proportion nearly of one in eight.

In Mangalore, there were in all about 63 officers, 12 of whom were killed and 16 wounded, all by musket-shot; total, 28—which is nearly one in two. The officers of the second battalion 42d regiment were, I think, 15 or 16, eight of whom were killed and wounded.

If I am right in extracting from, and summing up the daily report of casualties given by Brigade-Major Wolseley, they will be as under:—

Killed of King's and Co's officers, -	12
Wounded, do. do. do.	16
Killed of serjeants, drummers, rank and file, Europeans, - -	40
Wounded, do. do. do.	148
Killed of natives, - - -	136
Wounded, do. - -	519
Total killed and wounded, *	871

Deserted—One sergeant, 6 rank and file, 2 drummers; 4 native commissioned officers, 29 non-commissioned, 4 drummers, and 204 sepoys, including native artillery-men and lascars. Total, 250.

* Of the wounded, both Europeans and natives, many died of their wounds, from want of proper medicines, diet, and cordials. For instance, there were killed outright of sergeants and drummers, and rank and file, of the second battalion, 21, and there died of their wounds, 32.

When the situation of the troops is duly considered, who not only had none of the comforts of life, but could not even command its bare necessaries, it is not surprising that many, particularly sepoys, should have sought relief by going over to the enemy, where they would at least find plenty of food.

In speaking of the state of the garrison towards the close of the blockade, Mr. Moodie in his pamphlet says, that the number of the sick increased daily, and some of the most dangerous diseases made their appearance, particularly putrid fevers, dysenteries, and scurvy.

The havoc made by the first two was incredible; and he goes on to say that the sufferings of the troops were so severe that it is hardly possible to conceive a more distressing or more horrid scene of misery.* - - - - -

I have already noticed in a slight and cursory manner, that the Government of Bombay was fully and duly sensible of Colonel Campbell's great merits, and perfectly aware of the value of his services, and of those of his brave garrison; but this is a subject on which I must enter more at large.

In their letter to the Court of Directors, dated March 31, 1784,† the Select Committee of Bombay acquainted them, that, having considered the

* Pp. 98 and 99.

† From the copies of documents procured from the East India House.

motives assigned by Colonel Campbell for the surrender of Mangalore, they unanimously agreed to give him their fullest approbation, and desired him to accept, in particular, their thanks for his gallant defence, and to communicate the same to his brave garrison in the most public manner; assuring him that any more particular instance of bravery or conduct in any of his officers or men should not go unrewarded, when the claim of merit came recommended by him.*

* When Colonel Campbell arrived at Bombay, he was so feeble and exhausted, that he was not in a situation to attend to business; but, had he recommended the claims of any of the garrison to the particular attention of the Committee, he could not have fixed upon a person more worthy of their favour than *Cossenagee Muggar* (a Gentoo), the native commandant of the 8th battalion of Sepoys; for in speaking of him in his journal, p. 37, Brigade-Major Wolseley says, it would be a want of candour, and the greatest injustice, to pass over the merits of this valuable officer. Throughout the siege he was ever vigilant and active, procured frequent intelligence by his great exertions and address, revived the drooping spirits of the native troops, and discovered such fortitude and zeal for the Honourable Company's interests, as would have done honour to any rank in the service. The Major adds, (how far correctly I know not,) that this officer, among many others, remains to this day a striking instance how ill the most essential services are often requited, how soon forgotten. The 8th battalion Bombay Sepoys was an excellent corps, had seen much service, and from its merits was afterwards made the grenadier-battalion. With the soldiers of the 2d battalion 42d, they were on the most cordial terms; the former calling themselves the third battalion Royal Highlanders, and the latter in all good humour allowing it.

The Select Committee go on to state, that the Colonel arrived on the 13th, then almost past hope, deep in a consumption, and worn out by fatigue of body and mind; and that he thus lingered till the 23d, when he expired, universally regretted. They then add, that beyond the warm tribute of well deserved praise, it is not in their power to do justice to his memory; but as they think such services as his merit a more substantial and lasting return from the Honourable Company, they take the liberty most urgently to recommend that a monument be erected to him in their church, with a suitable inscription; and that the Company will be pleased to give the necessary orders to have a proper monument sent by the ships of next season; that so distinguished a mark of approbation may be attended with the happiest effects, in stimulating to exertion not only the officers of the Company's, but those also of his Majesty's troops, who may in future times serve in the East Indies, when they observe what lasting testimonies may be expected from deserving as well of their country as the defenders of Mangalore.

The Court of Directors, in their answer, dated 7th April, 1786, thus speak:—

"Highly sensible as we are of the meritorious services of the late Colonel Campbell, it was with great satisfaction that we attended to the recommendation contained in the 7th and 8th paragraphs of your select letter of the 31st March, 1784; and have accordingly given directions for preparing

the monument to the memory of that gallant officer, which, as soon as the same can be completed, will be sent out to you, in order to be placed in the church at Bombay."

It was accordingly sent out, and erected in the church of Bombay. The following is the inscription :—

To the Memory of
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CAMPBELL,
FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICES AT
MANGALORE.

The Supreme Council of Fort-William, in a letter to the Select Committee of Bombay, stated that the brave defence of Mangalore had merited their just applause.

I have farther to add, that the Government of Bombay ordered a gratuity of two months' full pay to be given to the serjeants, drummers, and rank and file who returned from the siege of Mangalore; and that this gratuity for the second battalion 42d, amounted to 4036 Bombay rupees, or £462, 9s. 2d.

The cessation of hostilities with Tippoo did not lessen or relieve the anxiety of Colonel Campbell's mind; for he communicated to me, in confidence, that he had obtained certain information that the Sultan had formed the nefarious resolution of surprising us, and making himself master of the fort at night, if ever he found us off our guard; and the Colonel also learned that Tippoo had been repeatedly,

during the armistice, in the trenches in disguise by night, with the intention of attacking us had a favourable opportunity offered. Had he succeeded in his treacherous and atrocious designs, few would have survived to tell the melancholy tale; for those who might by chance have escaped immediate death, would only have been reserved for the sadder fate of dying by poison, that no witnesses might remain of his perfidy and cruelty. As I lived in his family, at the Colonel's desire, I frequently, during the night, went the rounds of the fort, to see that all were alert on their posts, and then return to make my report to him, as he lay on his anxious couch.

As Colonel Campbell was born on the 7th December, 1753, and died on the 23d of March, 1784, he had not completed his thirty-first year. From his excellent family connexions, his high military talents, and the sense entertained of his merits by the Company, we are warranted in concluding, that, if he had been spared, he would progressively have been placed in the high situations of trust and command, which would have afforded him additional opportunities of adding to his fame, and of rendering further eminent services to his country.

He died a young man, prematurely in point of years, but not before he had earned and secured a character and reputation, which few of those who have lived much longer have so justly acquired.

The disease of which he died had been fatal to several of his family; but, at his period of life, he might have escaped its attack, had it not been brought on by the fatigues of body and anxiety of mind to which he was exposed for so many months.

Colonel Campbell was, in stature, rather under than above the middle size, and slightly made. His countenance was good, his eye keen and expressive. His manners and address were those of a gentleman, of one well born, and used to the best society.

In danger, difficulties, and emergencies, he was cool and intrepid; prompt and ready in his measures, and decided in executing them. In untoward and unexpected circumstances, he was instantly aware of the consequences which they would produce, if not immediately remedied and counteracted, and he adopted his plans and issued his orders accordingly. Never was there a more zealous officer,—never one more devoted to the service of his country,—or more desirous to discharge all his duties faithfully and effectually.

If at any time he thought he discovered inattention or lukewarmness in those under his command, he at once felt and expressed displeasure. Thus he may have occasionally displayed a quickness of temper, which perhaps had better been suppressed and controlled. On the other hand, of those who never started difficulties, and who cheerfully performed their duties, he became the steady friend and patron, ever afterwards anxious to avail himself of every opportunity of doing them kind

offices, and promoting their interests. If, in common with the rests of mankind, he had his failings, these were certainly much over-balanced by his gallantry and talents as a soldier, and by his amiable and honourable qualities as a man.

The defence of Mangalore, though one of the most remarkable events of the kind which has occurred at any time or place, is neither so generally nor so well known as it deserves. If this sketch should be instrumental in more extensively establishing the high merits of its hero, and the bravery of his garrison, the writer will derive that satisfaction which springs from the consciousness of having exerted his best endeavours to have justice done to the character and merits of an officer under whom he served, whom he had every reason to respect, to whom he is grateful for kindnesses conferred, and whose confidence he enjoyed. He has also been influenced by the wish to bring again before the public in Mr Chambers' work, (which is in wide and extensive circulation,) the mention of a piece of history well worthy of being remembered, as doing honour to the prowess and military reputation of the country, and which should be held up as affording an example worthy of future imitation, to all those who may be so placed as to have an opportunity of supporting the glory, and promoting the interests of their country.

POSTCRIPT.

In order that the severe, very dangerous, and hazardous nature of the service at the seige of Mangalore may be duly ascertained and appreciated, and that the commander and troops may get that credit to which their zeal, gallantry, and arduous perseverance so justly entitle them, I have thought it necessary and proper to compare the casualties which took place there, with those which happened during the long and celebrated siege of Gibraltar, which, from a number of concomitant and very peculiar circumstances, attracted the attention and admiration of all Europe.

I have attempted this comparison by taking the state of the force in the garrison of Gibraltar at three different periods, have divided the total strength by three, which makes the average come to about 6200 men.

Of that number there were killed outright of all ranks, - - -	223
And there died of their wounds of all ranks,	120
And there were wounded of all ranks 870, from which deduct the 120 that died of their wounds, as they were probably, in the first instance, returned amongst the wounded, -	750
Total of casualties,	1093

I have no way now of obtaining a correct state of the total and actual strength of the garrison of Mangalore, but I may sufficiently approximate to the truth so as to produce a fair and probable result. Major of Brigade Wolseley, in his return dated on the 24th of

May (*see page* 50), only includes those "Fit for duty," amounting in all ranks to 1883, and if we suppose that there were at the time on the sick list 217 (which I believe a very ample allowance), the strength of the garrison will amount to a total of about - - 2100

Out of that number there were killed of all ranks of European and native troops, -	188
N. B.—I have no means of ascertaining how many died of their wounds.	
Wounded of all ranks, European and native troops. (*See page* 61.)	8 683
Total of casualties,	871

In the garrison of Gibraltar, consisting of about 6200 men, the casualties were 1093; in that of Mangalore, the estimated strength of which was about 2100 men, the casualties were 871, which is in proportion to the former rather more than two to one.

I must conclude this Postcript by stating, that if my deductions and conclusions are not warranted by the premises from which I have drawn them, my mistakes must be attributed, not to wilful and premeditated misrepresentation, but to misconception or want of judgment.

THE END.

EDINBURGH:
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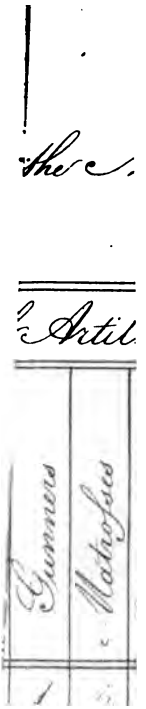
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